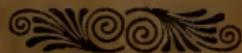


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HUMAN PROGRESS
AND
PARTY FUNCTION



AN ESSAY



S. F. SHOREY



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HUMAN PROGRESS *and* PARTY FUNCTION

AN ESSAY

By

S. F. SHOREY

Author of

"The Greater Men and Women as Factors of
Human Progress."

"Human Harmonies and the Art of Making
Them."

"Injustice and National Decay."

The system in all lands of holding
the sources of wealth production and
distribution are such that it makes of
the wealthy conservative party con-
stituency, a class of absorptives.

SEATTLE

S. F. Shorey

1916

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A WORD TO THE READER

ABOUT one-third of the thought matter of this essay has been taken from my "Injustice and National Decay", wherein the chapters having to do with political party functions, seem to be too much hidden by the chapters preceding and following to serve the best practical purpose.

Herein, other chapters have been added, the original part enlarged upon and almost entirely rewritten in the interest of better expression.

The effort here made is to show the origin of the two political parties in the two well known mental types of men, to show how, as factors of social evolution, they play their parts, to show how different, in the nature of their practices, are the products which they tend to bring to the community, to locate the place of their present arrival, to ascertain if, at the present time, one of the two parties tends more than the other to act in the interest of the majority, and, if so, which.

Successful reading is an art few acquire. The reader who, first understands the mean-

ings of the words used by the writer, can read successfully, if he can read with undivided attention and with an open mind.

Successful reading means thoughtful, critical reading. A book must be read as a whole as well as a thing of parts. The thought of the previous chapters or parts must be carried in mind into the following chapters or parts through to the end—a thing few ever acquire as a habit.

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INTRODUCTION

IN governments the best protection against autocratic tyranny is found in the popular form. But the efficiency of a government by and for the people manifests only in proportion to the demands of general intelligence.

Since the average intelligence of the people is not high in any country, how can they demand high class conduct from their leaders?

How many, in their voting, are guided by a knowledge of sociology, of political economy, and of party principles?

How many know enough of **history** to build a sound **philosophy** of history; of biology, to understand evolution; of psychology, of sociology, and of ethics, to put these into practice? How many realize that in a citizen's mental equipment a knowledge of these sciences is necessary?

How many understand the party theories or principles which **have** always led to and so long as they dominate the majority in practice, **must** lead to injustice, poverty,

suffering, national decay, and the gradual extinction of civilization?

We have, in our country, two political parties. How many understand the difference in the **principles** of these two parties, and consequently the difference in the results of the practices to which these principles lead?

How many know which party tends to extend justice to the many, which to favor the few? The majority of men vote, as a rule, with the conservative element and its party. Which do you favor, and why?

It takes times and effort to discover that the most remote cause of our difficulties is **ignorance**, that ignorance leads to greed, that greed sets up a train of effects manifesting in injustice, strife, tumult, suffering, crime and anarchy; that this means a gradual, individual and national decay, ending in national death.

For long hours of labor and an ever increasing cost of living there is a simple remedy, but this remedy can not be applied without a larger general intelligence than the one of today. It takes time and effort to realize that if **all** men **knew** what a few men know, the cause of all this poverty, conflict

and suffering could be removed in six months of time.

When the many know enough to recognize and co-operate with their friends—the comparatively few who have the wisdom and other means to share—instead of sacrificing these friends, on the altar of their jealousies, envies and ignorance, the undesirable will begin rapidly to pass away.

What right has any man to reap what another has sown—in knowledge even—without paying for it? Nature excuses no man for being lazy and ignorant, why should we? In other words—unless a man still believes in miracles and charity instead of in natural law and justice—how can he expect any man to sell the products of his efforts in any but the highest market?

The suffering of the millions is the penalty they pay for remaining uninformed—most men will take advantage of others till others know how to prevent it.

All thoughtful persons who stand for fair play deplore the fact of the monopolistic greed that deprives millions of their rights; they also deplore the fact of trades and labor union tyranny, for the evil effects of both the

above wrongs fall heavily on innocent parties.

But did it not all start through lack of information, and is it not continued on both sides through the same lack? For, justice to all serves **greed** even, better than injustice.

Only a short time before they die do most men come to realize the humbug of their education, only at a time when another bunch of graft educated simpletons stand ready and eager to take their places.

Some of the near-at-hand causes of the troubles that exist in ourselves can be seen; but the more **remote** causes are not understood, in particular do all but a few fail to understand that only through general ignorance can a system of economic injustice be maintained.

It takes time, and more effort than most men are willing to give, even after they are awakened, to learn much. Problems cannot be solved by a contempt of books, by idleness, by hatred of work, or with a pack of cards and a glass of beer.

Nor can problems be solved by monopoly, labor unions, anarchy, or socialism, except in so far as these are educational. These combinations are all modes of warfare, and

represent but a very arduous and expensive way to solve easy problems.

More men whose aim it is to **do** and to **be** more than they seem are very greatly needed, for there are plenty whose aim it is to do less and to **seem more** than they are. Enlightenment will increase the number of the former.

That men agree best and act most harmoniously in the best informed communities is an argument for the application of an educational remedy to the undesirable in existing conditions, for as general intelligence increases, so does law-making improve.

Being a male citizen of the United States gives the **legal** right to vote—it cannot, however, give either the **moral** or the **intellectual** right to this privilege:

For, with no knowledge of the **fundamental principles** of democratic freedom for which the United States is supposed to stand, and, as opposed to the **autocratic** and **enslaving** form of government, no man has a moral right to the use of the ballot in the United States.

The United States will never stand for what it is supposed to stand until the average voter knows more.

A DANGEROUS SUPPRESSION

LIFE in all of its forms is equipped with a law of unfolding change, with a proclivity and a power that makes for improvement as unerring as that which moves the earth in its orbit. To obstruct the move of this change or to deflect it from its natural line of expression involves great danger to the organism or body through which life is endeavoring to function.

For herein suppressed energy means imprisoned energy; it means a pent up power—a force which ultimately will either escape in some form of destruction or will establish itself as an abnormal growth.

This holds true both of individual and of social life. Suppression of progress by fixed forms results in the perverted use of life's energies, and explains their destructive escape, as in the case of the prodigal youth, or as may now be observed both in Mexico and in Europe.

Where old governing institutions of ignorance, injustice, and tyranny have been sufficiently strong to dam and hold back the energy of normal unfoldment, the pent up

forces have usually burst forth in some form of revolt. This is nature's endeavor to return to the normal or progressive move. In Spain these restrictions were of sufficient strength to produce national paralysis.

This law of continuous rebirth in Nature resents suppression, and though attempted in all countries, in even the most civilized, these efforts to suppress normal unfoldment, legitimate freedom to act, are followed by such breaking way as is manifested in different forms of rebellion and waste—in idleness, crime, strikes, anarchy, destruction, and domestic inharmony—these are the revolts of Nature, its protests against fixed forms of selfishness, against injustice, monopolies, conventional restrictions, and dogmas.

Rebellion against injustice, in some form and in all lands is always in operation and is the safety valve of national life.

Evolution is the natural "move" of unfolding change; it is the program of life, of life feeling its way into improved instruments of material expression; it is a process of continuous rebuilding, a discarding of the unfit for the tentatively fit, for that which is

better suited to meet the requirements of improved, but temporary or passing action.

This "move" is not confined to the field embraced by the biological sciences but works with the same tireless and irresistible determination to carve our higher forms of verbal, social, political, economic, mechanical, and religious expression.

Comparatively few persons have come to understand this natural demand of progressive change well enough to use it voluntarily,—and of governments, not even one. This explains the turmoils of life.

The growth of a tree is accompanied by change in the bursting of its bark. This phenomenon indicates that beneath the bark new cells are being formed. Enclose the trunk of the tree in a jacket, it cannot burst, and it will die. Since it has been denied freedom of growth, it **must** die. And so it is with the interior unfoldment of a nation or the mental unfoldment of national units.

Failing, as most men unquestionably do, to understand the universal law of unfolding life, failing to see that a moving poise, that an equilibrium of structure, cannot be preserved without meeting the requirements of

the law of progress, they learn but little; hence, they can neither **vote** nor can they **act** in **other ways** with a high degree of intelligence.

In the following essays effort has been made to ascertain which of the two political parties, by conforming to this unfolding move, comes nearest to meeting the requirements of present social needs.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Their Birth and Evolution

THE two political parties originated in the physical and mental variation and inheritance of the individual. As factors of social evolution, one grew out of efforts to improve, and the other out of efforts to preserve—both inherent tendencies.

The desire of one class to change improvingly gave rise to the liberal or progressive party, and the conservative party grew out of the necessity which arose of protecting the products of the thrifty element from the inroads of the lazy, thieving, destructive element.

The lower animal evolves by adapting itself to the natural changes which take place in its

environment, and so does man. But man goes farther in adapting his environment to himself.

Had man been unable so to change his surroundings as ever better to meet his own requirements, a liberal party could never have arisen. Had there been no possibility of united action among men to restrain those who would live from the labor of others and thus destroy all improvement, the conservative party could never have arisen.

The action of both parties has made it possible for man to progress beyond the roving, fighting tribe, and the principles of both are indispensable elements in the unfoldment of civilization.

Having the ability, and by being driven to use it, to better himself and his surroundings, being compelled, also, by uniting with others to protect his progressive gain and production from destruction, intelligence from ignorance, work from idleness, thrift from laziness, has moved man forward into social evolution.

Why flatter?

Present gain of civilization, though the product of countless ages of tribal followed by national warfare, of conflict among indi-

viduals, with the gradual coming of better organization and more comfortable social life, is but a good start.

Many generations with all of their experiences and their gradually improving means and methods of education, are yet required to eradicate from the physical and mental man the savage proclivities brought along down by inheritance from the early ages.

Though our tribal heritage is diminishing, there is still too much left for comfort; too many there are who know about as little, who are about as dishonest, as lazy, as jealously inclined, as rapacious as their tribal ancestors, and they will lie for about as small a matter as the most primitive man. Nor are they yet better able to realize how great the evil consequences of all this must be than were the prehistoric savages.

The child comes into the world equipped with a heritage of pre-social desires, ancestral tendencies to do that which was useful during ages of the past.

To the extent that his home life, his school life, and his early experiences of life, displace this heritage with that which better enables him to be honestly self-supporting,

to live in progressive, harmonious, and helpful contact with others of his kind in his day and age, is his education a success.

To the extent that he is not given the above fitness and fails to obtain it for himself will he, in some form, be an element of disturbance in his community, rather than a help.

The large percentage which the above-mentioned unprepared and restless element constitutes of the personnel of every nation of the globe is what furnishes those who thirst to dominate others with a plausible excuse for doing so through a strong, conservative, central government. But while advancing their argument they always fail to call attention to the very large percentage of injustice and tyranny which such a form of government always exercises over the individual because such a form lies beyond popular control.

No well-read, thinking, and observant person, however, can fail to see that human life is yet, even when compared with a not distant ideal, **primitive** in character; and the need of a nation for a conservative form of government is in proportion to this primitiveness.

The government best fitted to serve the needs of a people having but a low grade of intelligence is an absolute monarchy. In the proportion of their rise in the scale of intelligence will they demand forms admitting an ever greater amount of individual freedom, passing on up through the limited monarchy to the republic or conservative democracy, and onward to the liberal and progressive democracy.

During the early stages of evolution governments became strong through efforts made to keep down tribal and individual rebellion, until the freedom of the individual came to be considered of no importance.

This strong-arm period seems to be necessary as a part of social evolution, and consequently legitimate while serving its turn.

But few either among individuals or organizations are willing to stop at the end of their legitimate term of service; they love to rule, and the power to do this, when once obtained, is held tenaciously and used tyrannically until met and made to correct itself by a rival power.

Hence, the establishment everywhere in Nature of a correcting duality, of competing

forces, of a rivalry, and specifically this is found in the conflict of the two political parties now under consideration.

For ages, evidently, in order to keep down rebellion, autocratic rule, though used with tyranny, was necessary, for the crude, untaught individual could not, in past ages, nor can he now, be trusted with much freedom.

But with the growth of individual intelligence, autocratic tyranny, even ages back, began to be apparent and irksome.

Men gradually awakened, the numbers who could see that this organized suppression of individual freedom to act stood in the way of social progress, that it was a despoiler as well as a friend, an enemy to be resisted, fought back, and overcome, has been slowly increasing. This increase is being continuously accelerated through the cumulative power of progress.

Thus the abuses of autocratic rule gradually raised up against itself an enemy—a rival, a competitor that all down through the ages has been gaining in strength to curtail the aggression and injustice of the autocrat.

In the need of an organization to fight back conservative aggression, of a party to repeal the laws made by conservative despoilers, and to guard the free and honest expression of individual opinion, is found the second birth of the liberal party, or the party revival of the liberating idea.

Parties and men, however, are merely on the way; they have not yet arrived. For, since in every nation of the globe there yet exists a large percentage of this ignorant and destructive element, it furnishes a pretty valid excuse for still preserving forms of government having considerable conservatism—a measure of autocracy of centralized governing power that will become less necessary in the proportion that men become enlightened.

Although many of the laws made to regulate human conduct lack much wisdom and honesty, the considerable safety and stability of life and growth which these laws give, even in their imperfection, is far better than would be in even the most civilized lands the state of anarchy which would follow their entire repeal.

For, practically, both men and nations have

yet to learn that progress moves onward mid way between the two extremes of construction and destruction. Hence, by conserving dead forms, conservatives defeat the stable move at which they aim, while the progressive move is sometimes retarded by hasty and unwise change.

PARTY PRINCIPLES BUT LITTLE UNDERSTOOD.

IT is a matter of common knowledge that in all nations called "civilized" there are two political parties. And, by whatever name they may, in different countries, be popularly known, their difference in tendency is the same everywhere.

They gradually form and come into action through the leaders of two well known types of mind. These two parties are best known, perhaps, by the names "Conservative" and "Progressive"—those who hold to the existing condition of affairs by which they are **favored**, and those who desire change because they are **suffering** from existing conditions.

Nature presents us with a great variety of life and form, but in her wisdom she has

drawn no distinct lines between her groups, leaving this for human practice.

Since political parties are two, and rival groups of this variety we find the same blending between them; the great majority of party units are equipped with no definite knowledge of party principles and the differences which divide them.

In practical politics, therefore, men are not divided and formed into parties by a knowledge of party principles, but by leaders, and by prejudice; consequently, in their voting, they are **led** as a rule by their **feelings** instead of **guided** by their intelligence.

It is, however, in the interest of social progress, justice, and human happiness, of the utmost importance that the difference in the impelling power of the two political parties be clearly understood by the majority of men. For it is very essential that they be able to look ahead to results with considerable accuracy, to see in advance what product a given party is quite certain to bring to its community in legislation as a result of principles or motive-impelled action.

The community value of the two political parties must be discovered by employing the

same method in their examination as the one adopted by men in reading the meaning of any other facts of life.

For life may be viewed as a variegated whole, moving into mutually blending groups, undivided by **visible** lines.

Although no distinct lines can be found dividing genera, species, and families, or nature's differentiated groups, the **general** or **distinctive** marks can be found. And it is through these markings that investigators are able to locate groups or kinds and to determine the laws of their action.

To understand the relative value to any given community of its two political parties, the **motives** of both parties must be understood. What within each group is the particular thing which determines its legislative tendency must be seen in a practical way and by a working majority before much can be accomplished in the way of reform.

Civilization is now passing through one of nature's evolutionary sicknesses, or struggles, to throw off dead forms, a violence of process that would be wholly unnecessary had the majority of men learned the importance of discarding these dead forms sooner.

That is, had they learned the re-constructive and moral requirements involved in legislation—in other words, had they been able to act on an understanding of political party principles.

This, leaders of men fail to see and do, for the reason that, as a body, they are not wise enough to see, nor are they or their constituents yet honest enough to **deserve** to see.

Consequently social evolution always has been and still is a very uncomfortable process that comes through the periodic breaking up of old forms of selfishness all at one time in the interest of growth and safety.

This lack of sufficient intelligence to meet the requirements of progressive and moral change involved in party principles explains political quackery and is responsible for all the extinct civilizations of the ages. And political quackery is certain to thrive and civilizations to perish until such time as a majority have learned of the difference in the actuating principles of the two parties, the difference in their legislation produced by a difference of motive.

The party attachments of a voting ma-

jority are not determined by a knowledge of party principles. Party ideals have but little to do with the way men vote. This is determined (as are most of their other acts) by their **feelings**—feelings determined by the party preferences of their families, by the way their fathers voted, or it may be due to the way some clever campaign sophist, with his fabrication of half truths and false premises makes a certain uninformed element **believe**, and in particular to the way his emotional delivery makes them **feel** that they should vote.

But so it is in all departments of life; the conduct of life is not determined by wisdom or by knowledge of cause and effect. The world is filled with great libraries, but since all of the body of knowledge with which we are so well supplied is not in the minds of men, this knowledge is of comparatively little use. As a rule, the **many** reject theories and learn better ways of life—they form and adopt the use of improved ideals by being **driven** to do so. Nearly all men learn to do the right thing only by suffering the consequences of doing the wrong thing many times.

Were voters, by having a knowledge in

common of the best information available, united in action, instead of being, as they are, divided by a thousand and one conflicting opinions few of which have much scientific value, continuous and rapid social improvement would be a simple matter.

The two types of mind mentioned, form men into conflicting or opposed groups, clubs, societies, churches, and political parties, and they are the two great competitive factors of social evolution,—the later products of the **same** cause that has worked through countless ages to carve out **organic** forms.

Struggle among individuals has an awakening effect; slowly it teaches men wisdom and honesty. Party conflict is a large factor in bringing knowledge and honesty into community action.

Were all men wise enough to be honest and to do their best voluntarily, two parties would be unnecessary. A united scientifically conducted effort to put into practice a progressive conservatism would then rapidly approach an ideal social condition. For a long time yet, however, party rivalry will be among the most important factors of progress, for

the world has not learned the art of education—nor is it yet honest enough to do so.

Again, since it is due to a difference in their principles that their practices tend to bring to the community results so very different in kind, a knowledge of the principles of both parties is of the utmost importance to every voter.

First, then, what results **do conservative** practices tend to bring—toward what goal do the ideals of that party in which men place most confidence lead? What is the basic principle, the **main-spring** of conservative party action? Why, by whatever name it may be known, is one of the two parties considered conservative? What does it conserve? In **so far** as it encourages thrift by protecting the freedom of honest production it is plainly true to its trust. Neither men nor nations can progress without retaining their improvements.

Since, also, all changes are considerably experimental, in order to avoid as many mistakes as possible, these changes, before being made, should be carefully considered. All this is a legitimate amount of conservatism and is the aim of both parties.

But there are two competing political groups, two parties, and, while they have much in common, there is an undeniable difference in their motives and, consequently, a difference in the fruits of their action.

But, whence, in so far as we can trace it back over its evolutionary pathway comes this difference in the tendency of the two parties, and in the ends of which they are in pursuit?

A CONSIDERATION OF PARTY CHARACTERISTICS.

NOW as to the more specific evolution of political parties. The dominating proclivity of careful men is to posses, conserve, accumulate, hoard, and to become thrifty, successful, and comfortable. The conserving individual naturally adopts the conservative side in politics—it favors his motives. Once comfortable, he dislikes the disturbance of change, and to him conservative party rule means stability and happiness.

Conservative men and women, therefore, as well as conservative parties tend to resist change till they become the mastered vic-

tims of their habits—and much more so than the opposite type.

There are in the progressive party as leaders, some of the wisest among men, but there is, also, a large element of the changeable, thriftless, dissatisfied, uncomfortable, and prodigal sort. And they join the liberals because they desire to be benefited by change; they protest against the existing order and condition of things for the reason that they are the victims of its unfairness.

Many of this latter type may be of the less evolved but the fact of their being here on this earth must entitle them to an opportunity to express themselves improvidingly and to enjoy life as best they may. This they find they are prevented from doing without seeing how. Through the maze of legislative jugglery they fail to see how, by monopolies they have been deprived of this right and made to suffer unnecessarily. They are not informed.

The move of life is **constructive**, but it is also **destructive**; that is, progress is a process of bettering change, of building, of tearing down and building better. But during the time of involuntary change, progress is made

through conflict, men change and improve only because they are enticed by their desires and driven by their needs to do so.

Practically, the thriftless man knows nothing of either half of this dual process. The thrifty man has learned the constructing and conserving half. But there are extremely few of the thrifty who have learned that life demands a rebuilding and improving change —their acts are more instinctively than intelligently performed.

Thrift, therefore, has concealed within it a dangerous tendency, a tendency to form unbreakable habits of miserliness, or to develop into a greedy ambition for gain of wealth and power. Nor does the danger end here, while thrift is conducive to increase of intelligence, it brings with it a temptation that prevents the exercise of that higher honesty which increase of intelligence implies, consequently it needs watching.

Because the way of life's unfolding move is not generally understood, few have learned to use the power of success with the fairness and modesty of wisdom; too often does success lead men into forgetfulness of others,

into selfishness, arrogance, vulgar display and oppression.

For in all the walks of life, experiences of the most pleasing kind are found in the channels of our less human or animal proclivities, and they call for repetition.

Consequently, the means of indulgence once gained, these proclivities call for the pleasures of self indulgence, involving broken laws followed by sickness.

The means of selfish indulgence, also, often leads men into aggressions, usurpations, acts of injustice, acts that raise up against them a host of enemies.

As a rule, these pleasant ways of habit become deep calcined channels in which little resistance is found, mental valleys in which men and women once caught, the will to climb out becomes weaker through lack of resistance; consequently, they are there to stay unless driven out by some form of suffering.

Few have sufficient knowledge and strength of will to break the clutch of a pleasing habit even after it has reached the destructive stage—thus the importance of disease and rivalry becomes apparent.

Since parties are made up of individuals, it is with parties very much the same—they are held to act within their ruts of success by their feelings, assisted by a species of mutual hypnotism.

As with the individual, party success brings self-satisfaction followed by conceit, selfishness, and an increasing desire for power.

The satisfaction of this desire to control not only national affairs but the private life of individuals is sought and secured by the leading members of the conservative party through laws made to monopolize wealth producing opportunities.

Stand-pat political institutions, rigid economic and social structures, unchangeable forms which tend more and more to handicap the production and distribution of wealth, to resist improvement and to gradually strangle national life, are due to the monopoly of natural opportunities by conservative party favorites in all lands and in all ages.

Than this fact of the evils of monopoly, and largely of land and other franchise monopoly, there is nothing that needs **more** to be understood. And few things are **less** understood by the voting community.

However, while men are **learning** the fact of this growing rigidity of economic and of social structure—the way of its coming, the tremendous evils hereby entailed, and the simple way of its prevention by the removal of its cause through the intelligent use of the ballot, Nature has provided a national life preserver that works automatically in the form of this dispossessed, non-attached, thriftless, complaining, radical iconoclastic element, set in motion by some one or more wise men of their day (not by agitators) who understand the importance to all men of their educational liberation.

Were it not for this provision bridging the time of passing ignorance, progress would cease and civilizations would move rapidly downward to extinction.

The way of life's visible unfoldment is through an improving change of its forms, a change that is at first an involuntary one.

In Nature's scheme of breaking up all human structures, followed by the need of building new and better ones, is concealed the secret of progress; herein, also, must be found the correct line of voluntary action and of educational guidance.

Old habits and old machinery pass out of date and must be changed or superceded by the new in both cases because, while these are being used, things are learned which demand either their reconstruction or dismissal. New habits must be learned also, if new tools are to be adopted and this habit breaking is the law of change to which the laws of mind, like all other laws of life must **consent** to **conform** or be **driven** to do so.

To the extent that law-making and law-revision conform to the progress of knowledge and honest intent, do they have natural sanction and high possibilities of use. And, when applied with wisdom and honesty of interpretation, law as an arbiter of justice and in protecting the freedom of men to act in constructive, moral and harmonious ways, serves a high purpose.

Material acquisition is legitimate, to the extent that it leaves all men opportunity and prejudice free; for it embraces a very large part of human expression—all, in fact, that some men are able to express in this life.

But material acquisition should leave men free; the moment it has given rise to a de-

sire to appropriate what naturally belongs to others, and more than is needed for use, a high function has dropped to a sordid aim, to greed, and has become a factor of social disturbance that, if allowed to have its way, will bring destruction.

Change, in the form of an ever improving construction, is the way selected by Nature to move life into ever higher degrees of expression.

So, if men are to progress rapidly, they must conform hereto; that is, they must re-embodiment life's expression, they must continuously break up old habits, laws, ways, idols, and move into the new as fast as they learn,—and they **must volunteer** to learn and in other ways to act **without being driven** to do so.

As a rule, exclusive pursuits shut out a wise philosophy of life; the tendency in all human activities is to gravitate into narrow grooves of action—nearly all men and women **become specialists** and **stay specialists** throughout life—the **habit-slaves** which they could avoid becoming by taking steps to know a little more.

It is through their lack of wisdom that this

progress-killing habit-slavery is fastened by leaders of men upon communities, by allowing no improving change to take place in the economic, political, religious, and other forms through which the community acts.

Than in their efforts to achieve their political ambitions, there are **few**, if any, **other** fields of effort in which men act with less wisdom and honesty; and for the reason, evidently, that not one aspirant in ten has **much** knowledge of the science of wealth production and distribution, the **majority** have **none**.

How is it possible for men of such mental equipment and calibre to see the consequences of their political acts? How can politicians view their grafts as anything but legitimate? The baseness of the ways of their getting is concealed from such men by the complexity and intangibility of its coming; to them, what they obtain, seems something for nothing, money “just picked up” and to which no one had any particular claim.

How can they view the billion dollar monopolies they betray their trust to grant to favorites—and for but a pittance of return to themselves as anything but legitimate?

The **fact** of the matter is they are too little

informed to see the infamy of their acts, the poverty, suffering and disturbance hereby entailed. To such men, the public domain and resources have always appeared to be endless and inexhaustible.

What does it matter to such, who goes hungry, if they can show off?

To the mind fittingly equipped for the trust which these men betray, all this infamy is perfectly plain—made so by a knowledge of the science of wealth production and distribution and the evolution of morality.

One half the blame for this corrupt condition of affairs, of course, rests with voters.

It is largely due to a lack of intelligent balloting that men without any sort of fitness find their way to places of great political trust.

The public career of this type is sufficiently common to be familiar to all reading and thinking men.

A public functionary with no knowledge of the science of wealth production and distribution has, as a rule, but little sense of justice.

He sees, therefore, little or no harm in betraying, for a small consideration, his trust in

the interest of a few favorites. Since he does not know of what it consists, he cannot see that his service calls for high moral conduct.

It is impossible for a man who does not know what constitutes honorable conduct to be a statesman.

To the mere politician, public service means private gain; and he sees no good reason why any instrumentality at hand may not be legitimately used to secure this end. He lacks **fitness**, both intellectual and moral.

But since the majority of law-makers are of this unfitted type, law-making is confined largely to forming monopolies in the interest of administration favorites.

This fact holds more particularly true of a conservative party because in the constituency of this party there are more men having a power of wealth to demand this service,—the percentage of corruption is here greater. Nor does the matter of power gaining end here.

In all walks of human activity there is a certain desire for change. No person, no party, no group of men can be found quite satisfied at the end of any achievement. Most men, both honest and dishonest, are in

pursuit of some object of ambition. The honest ones work along moral lines, the dishonest members work toward their gratifications with whatever they find to serve their purpose best, regardless of right or wrong.

The chief ambition of this latter type is to triumph, is to obtain power over others, to dominate and to subdue. This is their chief motive in gaining wealth, for they thrive on applause and love to boss—even to bully and enslave.

Men thus dull of moral sense, on becoming sated with wealth plunder, seek new conquests. When the accumulation of wealth no longer gives **complete** satisfaction the thing that may be looked for from such men as political leaders is plain to those who know something of the human mind and have observed this particular type.

The next ambition in the natural order of wealth-sated men is to supervise the daily lives of great bodies of men and women, to control personal conduct through more direct and specific forms of legislation. They like to boss and are led to act by reasoning that seventy-five per cent of those by whom

they are surrounded are sufficiently inferior to themselves to need a guardian.

They fail to see that the poverty, ignorance and crime by which they are surrounded are largely due to the laws they have made to monopolize wealth and the means of its production.

Thus, men of wealth and men in places of power become dangerous members of the community through their exercise of power with lack of understanding. What they fail to see is that social evolution is not moving in the direction of their desires, that their desires are perverted ones and due to the appropriation and use of wealth and leisure to which they have no moral right—wealth legally stolen.

The desire to become a dictator is a reverted type of feeling—a return of the mind to prehistoric ages, a step backward toward the militant type of society—it is tribal.

Even though to the superficial observer it may seem that the world is moving in the above mentioned direction; that is, toward monarchy, autocracy, socialism, and other forms of arbitrary rule, along the open road

to tyranny over the individual, to slavery, warfare, and destruction—it is not doing so.

The move is toward social equality and individuality, toward democracy, toward a better distributed use of function and power, of justice and freedom. And, in order to achieve this end, old forms of tyranny must be destroyed—this is the meaning of what we are witnessing today. The speed of this move, beneath the surface, is being continuously accelerated, and he who sets himself in its pathway will be ultimately crushed beneath the move. For confirmatory evidence take a mental stroll along the historic pathway of the ages.

It is due to the blindness of ambitious men of wealth and power that the menace to social progress coming from the side of restriction is today in most countries much greater than that which comes from the side of anarchy—in fact, it is long continued and ever tightening restriction that **finally brings anarchy**.

To the precise extent that men succeed by monopoly in freeing themselves from competitive correction do they accumulate power, secure control of human affairs, over-estimate

themselves, and become tyrants difficult to reach.

Monopoly of resources is what we find has been one of the chief aims of all conservative parties throughout history, what we find as the chief aim of its legislation in all lands and in all ages.

A grasping conservative party has produced in our own land during the past fifty years a monopolistic, subsidizing and bonding system that has paralyzed production and distribution—a system of ignorance and dishonesty, fixed upon the prejudiced, simple, uninformed voters, who trusted it for a long time after our civil war in the belief that its leaders were wise and would enact laws with a fair amount of honesty.

Leaders of a conservative party are stimulated by its principles to produce and to preserve something of general value. But they are also furnished, hereby, with a pretext for resisting needed changes, and they are given time, opportunity and temptation to create and fortify special privileges.

In evidence hereof there is always left in the wake of a long conservative rule, idleness, strikes, poverty, crime, and many other forms

of discontent and suffering all indicative of unjust law making. But since all this manifestation takes place throughout the progressive administrations by which these long term conservative administrations are followed, few persons are ever able to see the **cause**. All this misery, therefore, is supposed to be due to liberal administration.

It is a fact that through conservative manipulations, our government (though not to quite the extent of older nations) has become very much like an abused and out-of-date machine.

Today, parties actuated by conservative principles do much more harm than do those who are guided by principles of the progressive kind.

For, being more fully trusted, not so closely watched, they betray this trust by helping themselves to that with which they are entrusted. They are protected in their mischief by the inertness, the lack of information, and the erroneous beliefs of men—in a word, by the mass ignorance of conservatively imposed education.

The financial support of a conservative party comes from the well-to-do, from the minority constituency who are comfortable in

the enjoyment of their possessions, and who, as a **matter of course**, are conservative. Since most of what they are enjoying is the income of special privileges, of respectable, time-honored usurpation, they resent changes that threaten to take away any portion of their unjustly acquired holdings, changes that have in view the restoration to those to whom these holdings rightly belong.

As we proceed with this essay it will become ever plainer **how** and **why** it is that the conservative element and its leaders are able to make themselves believe that their conduct in this betrayal of trust is justifiable.

They are led by favoring circumstances into the belief that they are the superior ones, consequently to infer that they are hereby the naturally appointed protectors of the many. Having, to start with, some ability, much aggressive selfishness, energy of conquest, and in some cases an over-supply of egotism, these proclivities become intensified; and often into colossal proportions through the wealth of others, much of which these men have betrayed their trusts to obtain. It is to the use of the legally appropriated wealth of others,

more than to their natural superiority, that their assumptions are due.

Herein lies the secret of the decay of nations through the survival of the morally unfit—the retention of back numbers that prevents moral progress and finally crushes national life. Herein, also, lies the danger of preparedness, the danger of a great military power that may be used by such a party against the people instead of for national protection.

It does not come within the scope of this brief essay to give party histories—these are here unnecessary, for, if more is desired, there is abundance of information within easy reach of the reader. Conservative parties are dominated by the selfishness of comparatively few wealthy citizens. This party, therefore, has **always** been farther from impartial representation than has the liberal party, and the tendency is to depart ever farther from justice with increase of wealth and power—party names reveal nothing of their principles.

Why, when seen from the viewpoint of wealth production and distribution, conservative parties have always served the few at the expense of the many is very plain. It is

immediately due to the conservative's good opinion of himself and his party on the one hand, and to his contempt for the progressive and his party on the other. The fact that the conservative party is made up largely of the more prosperous—of those with a better chance to become educated, leads the conservative to believe that his party is the naturally superior one. He is either **unable** to see or, if able to see, he refuses to acknowledge that what men **are** is largely due to their opportunities, means, education—more to their circumstances than to their superiority, to matters over which they have had little or no control. Men thus favored naturally tend to gravitate, and as a rule **do** gravitate to the conservative side, and here use these advantages to selfish ends—use them regardless of fairness.

The failure of most individuals of which the conservative party is composed to understand how they happen to be what they are, is one of the factors by which the party is led into all sorts of unfair acts of legislation.

The belief that their membership is one of innate superiority once established, there follows a conviction that their party, also, is

equipped with sufficient superiority to entitle it to prerogative rights.

This stage once reached, there is no place to stop, and the way is open for any sort of delusion to creep in and set up the extreme of unfair party action.

They reason that since their membership is of a quality sufficiently superior to entitle it to party prerogative, and the great majority need and should have a party guardian, this guardianship is one of their responsibilities,—that is, the conservative party is equipped by Nature with an **inborn** fitness; is, by reason of its superiority, endowed with a social, economical and political function which it **must not neglect**.

By such false reasoning they soon convince themselves that it is a duty they owe the nation to place their party in power by whatever means may seem best to its leaders.

To determine the majority vote, they have not merely a **right**, but it becomes hereby their **duty** to control **educational** channels through the matter of text books, to control the daily press, the platform, and the pulpit; for Jusitically speaking, “the end justifies the means.”

This explains existing matters of political

fact; it explains what has been taking place for generations back; it explains how it is that the political opinions of the many are formed in such way as to make them vote to fleece themselves, and how they are made to pay a high price for their false education.

WHY CONSERVATIVES HOLD A MAJORITY

IT is, therefore, due to a lack of the right information that, in their *feelings*, the majority of men are in sympathy with the conservative party.

This party is composed of two elements, the wealthy or well-to-do, and the less intelligent and politically simple of those who are poor—the managed element. The latter, blinded by their own selfishness, by their meagre and erroneous instruction, fail to recognize their party friends. But desiring to be on the winning and respectable side, they resort to all sorts of connivances, even to playing the part of the toady, to attain that which they never reach. They hope some time, of course, to become sufficiently wealthy to show off, but they know nothing of how to accomplish the desired result. Lacking self-reliance, they resort to attachments—in

proof, note the names of children and of business. This class has no initiative, no originality. And, although helpless and dependent, it fears that any change will make matters worse; for, being lazy, it dislikes to be disturbed.

That which determines a poor man to play his party game of life with the conservatives is his lack of understanding—it certainly does not go his way.

Caution, thrift, self-esteem, the desire to secure comfort and respectability, are all legitimate.

But this desire, common to both the above mentioned classes, of the one to **become**, and of the other to remain plutocratic—that is, this ambition to obtain the means, right or wrong, to triumph over, to take advantage of, and (if not **with**, then **without** merit) to be looked up to by others as superior, is a low type of vulgarity rather than a legitimate aspiration.

Men of this “bossy” or military type—tyrants with power and servile **without**—have evolved—regardless of what they may assume—but a small amount of fellow feeling; they lack both sympathy and knowl-

edge and are hereby placed in a back number order of human unfoldment which men should have long since been educationally awakened to leave individually and collectively behind.

In minds so dominated there can be little ability to see the importance of general, well distributed prosperity, little desire to extend common justice. For it is due to the moral and intellectual deficiency of this type, to their lack of unfoldment, that they fail to see the value of such promotion, to themselves as well as to others.

These desires that make the tyrant are primitive; they are deeply rooted in an old order of **animal** naturalness that only time, suffering, and education will replace with a **higher**, a **human**, and a **moral** naturalness.

The only way to discard greed with all its entailed miseries, is through the gateway of enlightenment. When the majority of men are so far enlightened as to realize and to act upon the realization that the chief factor of human progress is the moral factor and that there is in the world abundance for every human being, "Want and the fear of want" will disappear from the earth.

In proportion to what we know do we form correct ideals of conduct. These ideals we approach in practice as fast as we are driven by suffering to learn and **volunteer** to learn still more. The active power behind all conduct—that which operates knowledge, sets up practice, prompts to an effort to reach the ideal—is **feeling**, and **feeling** is the product of suffering.

Selfish practices in time teach their folly, by entailing evils that make man suffer; through this suffering he is driven into sympathy with his neighbor, and to the correction of his errors in thought and conduct.

This is the stage across which the human family is now moving in its unfoldment. The injustice that comes of ignorance and the failure of men to learn to educate and to perform as well as they know, explain all the turmoils and horrors of today. The first step in the increase of human consciousness is the one of **learning to learn**; the next step taken in learning should be the one of wise use.

It is evident that all men are driven by their needs and their suffering to learn;

and, that while this is taking place they learn to seek knowledge consciously. This step is slowly followed by the one of learning its application, a part of which is the educational process. But while we are crossing the stage of selfishness or slave driven education, our experiences must necessarily be of a drastic nature. We must be driven by the tortures that inevitably follow injustice and error into feeling for others.

Learning to be democratic and moral in feeling, then, is a slow process, and the sufferings caused by arbitrary monarchial, or conservative rule are among its greatest promotive factors.

Therefore (and it is evidently in the great, purposeful scheme of things that it should be so), conservative parties come into control oftener, remain there longer, and they abuse the power given them more flagrantly by monopolizing most of the wealth of the land, than do those with progressive principles.

Though there lies concealed in every fact of life evidence of design, the discovery of this design requires careful research and the truth is but slowly perceived.

To take the matter of political parties: It requires but little ability and investigation to learn which party through the working of its principles tends to befriend the many, yet men are long in the learning—the many are unable to see their way back to the cause of the effects by which they are hampered.

Understanding, therefore, has been reached by few, nor are the majority likely to be better informed except by being driven to learn through years of suffering. In time, of course, they will learn to learn.

Existing facts are hereby explained: Men place greater confidence in conservative than they do in liberal parties, because (for one thing evidently) they need for their awakening, the chastening experiences of an unjust monopoly system run in the interest of a few conservative party favorites.

The majority learn the **cause** of the community **effects** in which they are submerged and made to suffer, but slowly—they are unawakened.

Hence, in the matter of political economy and politics, generations of starvation, fighting and suffering are required to teach men

what they **should** learn, but **do not** learn in one term of school and have ready to put in practice with their first vote—it is easier to play than to think.

In spite of the fact that there is abundance of sound economic theory available in matter that might be used educationally to unite men in constructive political action, it is **not** used. The many being too dull and inert to learn and the few to selfish to learn, men are divided by a thousand and one conflicting opinions, few of which have any rational value; consequently social reform is a slow, noisy, and difficult process.

There is a great body of erroneous popular belief in the world which every man discards soon after he begins to think. The one, who is yet so little informed as to believe in and worship at the shrine of these fetishes in politics, economics or religion, can be made during an exciting campaign or revival to act upon any sort of foolishness.

Only by knowing whence they come can the troubles and ills of life be avoided; by the same means, only, can they be removed when once fixed upon us.

Only because the majority of men do not

know their cause do they contract social ills, and these ills are allowed to remain in effect for the same reason. When in a panic of want and suffering, the many vote for a change of administration they do so with no definite idea of what is needed to bring relief.

They do not will to action, they do not move by what they know, but are moved by what they feel. This provision of compulsory move is established in all life to keep it moving onward to where, in the human family, men will have gained sufficient intelligence and will to set up a rational move.

The present fact is that most men are moved to action by their feelings—by the compulsions of fear and suffering, rather than by knowledge; they move grudgingly and slavishly rather than willingly.

This form of move, however, is not in vain; it renders a service of particular value in social progress through political parties.

For, it is through the stings and smarts of the many, their needs, culminating at intervals in driving them into blind mass-action to demand a change to something better, that determines the legislative tendency of

the liberating party—this mass move is what compels the liberating party to make more or less of an effort to bring relief, to so change the laws as to improve general conditions.

The changes thus made, though small, are those which, by destroying old forms, preserve some plasticity of social structure—are those which gain and preserve the freedom to make some improving change, to save national life and civilizations from becoming extinct through fixity of structure.

In all departments of life, wherever progress is made we find it to be largely through compulsion—men are **driven** into the intelligent and voluntary operation of their powers.

In the matter of adopting improved machinery, they are **driven** to displace the out-of-date machine with the improved variety **oftener** than they **volunteer** to do so—we, evidently, have reached but the outer edge of educational progress—the borderland where effects are not yet controlled by a knowledge of cause, consequently a field in which chaos reigns.

This same thing holds true of political

parties, men have not yet learned to use them.

Since, therefore, the principles by which the two parties are actuated differ fundamentally and as must also the results of their practice, they need to be understood. This accomplished, there will come a radical change—a time when conservative party dominance will abruptly cease.

Thereafter instead of being used through their thoughtless, emotional, and foolish party attachments to serve the personal ambitions of the party leaders of **any** party, voters will be guided by knowledge equipped reason and will act to serve humanity as the larger part of their own welfare. It is encouraging to note that men are gradually breaking away from blind party adherence.

FOOLISH EXPECTATIONS.

THE slaveries of life are discarded but slowly. Monarchical forms of government, when they become too tyrannical to be longer endured, are thrown off by revolution. And, even in popular forms, men are turned from a period of conservative betrayals to one of progressive release by their

suffering rather than by a **knowledge** of the cause of their suffering.

When, therefore, liberating administrations have been selected, voters know little or nothing of what to expect, of what changes are needed to effect improvement, or how long after new laws are enacted for this purpose it takes to put these laws into operation and to secure the desired results.

Being led by their feelings into absurd expectations they look for improvement to come with impossible quickness, and they resent the delay which they do not understand to be unavoidable.

It is due to the inertness of men that they lack wisdom, that they know nothing of cause and effect, and cannot see ahead. In consequence hereof they become enslaved without knowing how or why, and break for freedom only when they find themselves bound hand and foot. It is due to this same lack that the moment they are ready to cry "enough" and to attempt to break away they look for and expect to find some immediate means of release. This holds true of the coming and the holding of all human bondages. In the case of their physical ills

brought about by self-neglect and abuse men expectantly look for some means to effect cure with miraculous quickness.

Hence the history of all progress has been a long and tempestuous struggle of drowsy men kicked into action by suffering.

In the evolution of governments, even when we reach the popular form, we find that the conservative element is always trusted, leading, making unjust laws of monopoly and in other ways betraying those who trust them, hereby fixing upon the great majority an automatic system of legal fleecing.

Because the masses are led and taught the truth by torture, and made to pay too much for both their leadership and their education, both sides are injured.

The move of life is through tangible forms of expression, but life's action cannot improve, men can not move upward as well as onward, only so fast and so far as obsolete and useless forms are replaced by improved, and in this sense, by higher ones.

The moment old forms, processes and habits have served their purpose, it is in the unfolding law that improved varieties begin trying to displace them. This move in-

voluntary in Nature may be safely taken as our educational guide that it may be used voluntarily.

In consulting our needs of today, we find that our greatest is a morally equipped and acting intelligence; moral progress has never kept pace with material progress in any age of the world, hence, nations have decayed and civilizations have become extinct.

Social improvement follows individual improvement, governments can improve only so fast as the individuals who make them improve.

And, since effects in their turn become causes, social, economic and political improvement entail a further improvement of the individual. Could all men and women come suddenly to realize the importance of education and of personal integrity, to see the evils that flow from a single dishonest act, progress would go forward and harmony of life step in by leaps and bounds. Dishonest acts of law making are responsible for as many of the evils of life as all other dishonest acts combined.

The conservation and continuation of progress have largely depended upon, and

they still depend upon, comparatively few of the less selfish, educational leaders, many of whom are little known in their day, for the reason that it takes time for the higher ideals which they set in motion among men to be understood.

Consequently this highest of service is seldom adequately recompensed and it often meets with ridicule if not with persecution.

There is a very great difference between the leader of men who **knows enough** to lead and has a **desire** to lead in the direction of general welfare, and the one who neither knows enough to render nor cares to render such service. But how few there are who can see this difference through a knowledge of fundamental principles, and as a further consequence of such knowledge, to discern the difference between a statesman and a political humbug.

Nor do the evils entailed by a lack of broad intelligence end here; as a result, they spring up in every department of life.

It is because a very large percentage of the population in every land fail to understand the scope of their natural rights, that they are not insulted by offers of charity,

and a larger percentage, even of those who see in what they call emoluments of office and in "tips" no instrumentality of degradation. So, also, do we find it with appeals made to different grades of intelligence.

The arguments of a lecturer appearing to be sound to the great majority of his audience may be seen to be false to the better informed few. So, the reasoning, which at one stage of a man's unfoldment appears to be sound, may be seen at his next, higher stage of gained intelligence to be so ridiculously fallacious as to be an insult to any thinking man.

Upon the subject matter used by campaign orators, few men are well informed, and as a consequence campaign speeches can be made and are made—particularly by conservative leaders—to befog and mislead the many without insulting them. Though influenced hereby to fleece themselves by voting to place most of their natural opportunities in the hands of monopolists, not over twenty-five per cent of the voting population are sufficiently well informed in party history, land monopoly, methods of taxation, national finance and

economics to realize what has been accomplished and how.

This lack of enlightenment explains why it is that conservative parties are able to hold the confidence of a working majority. The rule is to judge a party by superficial evidence, and to judge individuals by their external appearances and immediate influence by show, vulgar display, pyrotechnics, empty rhetoric, humor; as shown elsewhere in this essay. Besides, men are, for this same reason of short measure very susceptible to flattery.

Confidence in the conservative party is greatly strengthened by **suggestion** as embodied in its **claim** to preserve to a greater degree than does the progressive party the **existing order** of things, to resist **change**, to stand for **stability**. And since, by the mistakes of change and a failure to locate causes, many have been taught to fear change, this claim and belief is a powerful factor in holding control.

While we grant this conservative theory we deny that it is wisely operated, the stability it puts into practice is **too** changeless or immovable; it resists **needed** changes—it is the **death** grip of an unjust system. And

unless this can be broken, unless intelligence or social upheaval comes to the rescue, it strangles national life and leads to the stability of death.

In a moving equilibrium, in an alive and wide-awake stability, in a rebuilding, bettering change, are found the true conservatism and the true progressivism.

In its moral conduct, the central government of a nation should be a power of such strength as to elevate the ideals, increase the honesty, improve the social life, and even the business life of the entire nation.

What, for the past fifty years, has been the influence radiating from the City of Washington—our national Capitol? Has it not by its examples of privilege granting, corrupted and demoralized the business life of the entire nation?

The conservative party undoubtedly **conserves**, but **what** does it conserve? Is it honest? Does it seek and conserve the best? Does it admit and conserve progress? Does it tend to promote intelligence, moral conduct, higher ideals? Does it give justice and increase the sum of human happiness?

On the contrary, and as shown above, do

we not find that a very large part of conservative party effort is expended in **creating** and **conserving special privileges**, in protecting the property holding of the "haves" at the expense of the "have nots"? And does not this tend to antagonise, embitter, corrupt and criminalize men? Does not special privilege creating place a premium on dishonesty?

Every student of history knows that in all ages conservatives **have** monopolized, and every student who understands political economy today knows that conservatives (much more than progressives) **do now** monopolize and hold out of use the natural opportunities of the many, and that they are hereby moving society toward the stability of death.

Take no one's word for this but look up the history of the conservative party (Republican) in our own country during the past fifty years and discover what this party has done to place the public domain in a few hands.

The less one knows, the more does he believe in and look for miracles. And since

monopolists of wealth and conservatives in polities are one and the same, the moment they find their party in control of the government, they come to its assistance and begin performing the “good times” miracles which their blind, simple, and easily satisfied constituents have been looking for. Monopoly holds the income producing property that controls the machinery of production and distribution.

THE SYSTEM THAT STEALS YOUR WAGES.

IT is in the nature of its earning that no individual has any moral right to the appropriation and private use of ground rent—to the rental value of land. This value is commonly called the “unearned increment;” and, evidently, for the reason of its intangible coming or earning, because it is **made** by everybody, it does not seem to be **earned** by **anybody**, because it is **community** earned it does not seem to be **earned at all**, but seems to germinate and grow like a tree—in fact, the way of its earning is so silent and hidden that its enormous amount is unknown and even its existence is overlooked by the ma-

jority of men who know nothing of political economy.

However, when this value is once clearly seen by the majority, by the community by whom it is earned, it will be taken and used for public revenue—the purpose for which it very evidently comes into existence,—instead of as now being allowed to flow into private pockets where it does not belong, and where it is squandered in part as a political corruption fund.

When right use is made of ground rent, it will abolish our unjust personal property tax, open idle land to idle men, and set in motion extra wheels of production and of commerce. It will widen city streets, relieve the congested centers of population and cramped business quarters, giving more room for less rent.

It will also remove the tyranny exercised by private corporations—such as railroads, and steamship lines—in their distribution of products to consumers.

In fact, to one who has given some honest thought to the matter it is evident that following the natural use of ground rent and the consequent opening of land to legitimate

use, the productive capacity of the world will very soon double, distribution will be then released, honest possession and use will step in, waste be reduced to a minimum, while poverty and crime will gradually fade from the earth.

There is another fact which prevents men from seeing, appropriating and using ground rent in this natural way of revenue. And this is habit, custom; private appropriation and use seems legitimate because it has always been the custom; men are unconscious of the **wrong** use because they have never seen the right use, and all their education tends to keep this belief in private use intact. It falls, in consequence, as unconsciously and comfortably upon the senses of most men as the ticking of their old clock.

The change, therefore, from private to public use requires time; before this feat can be accomplished general intelligence must have so increased that the majority of men can see the **facts** of the matter, can see how under the present system of land holding their wages are absorbed by land values and collected by others in the form of rent. They must understand political economy. A com-

plete understanding of political economy, however, requires a knowledge of many contiguous branches of information.

Morally speaking the labor saving machine with its continuous increase of productive power belongs to all men. By legal contrivance it is appropriated by the few through the collection of ground rent. The community, by conceding to a few the legal right to appropriate ground rent, gives, also, to this same few the opportunity to shirk all the taxes, and to pretend to and to seem to pay the same. So long as this is allowed, the great body of men, women, and children will derive comparatively little benefit from their labor saving machinery or from any other form of progress, and there will continue to be among us millions steeped in ignorance, poverty, and crime, with millions of preventive and alleviative devices operated by an army of sympathetic simpletons.

The masses can derive but little benefit from the increase given to productive power by the progress of invention until they have gained sufficient general information to see that this productive power is absorbed by increase of land values—an increase which in

turn serves to determine the increase of rental values; and, under the present system, this ever increasing ground rent passes into the private pockets of landlords.

The majority must also be able to see that if rents increase, an increase in the price of merchandise must follow, market values must increase, for the merchant is obliged to find some way to make wages and to get back from his customers what he pays to his landlord in higher rent, and the way he takes to do this is to raise his prices. This explains increase of prices and the increasingly high cost of living. Under the present system competition can have little effect in keeping down prices, for rent collectors leave but a trifle of margin upon which merchants can work.

Perhaps you may have noticed that the comparatively few who own valuable, rent-producing city lands nearly all belong to the conservative class, and as the strong members of a political body they can offer to the great army of those in need and devoid of understanding the insult of paternalism. You may, also, have noticed that they command many votes besides their own, that they hold

the power to paralyze business with high rents and an entombed currency. Before the masses of men can receive much benefit from civilization they must understand this, become mutually informed, stop bickering among themselves, and act together in justice and honesty.

Fatherly party care is still believed in by the many who are not yet well enough informed to realize that even an **offer** of such care is an insult to human intelligence.

Nearly all men come into this life equipped with the possibility in themselves and furnished with the external means of self-support.

But since, through their stupidity and inertness, they have lost access to their external means and cannot therefore, exercise their possibilities, they have become willing to accept of a pauperizing paternalism in government. The majority of individuals can never secure their rights till the art of community action has been learned—a natural system of social regulation established, a system in which competitive freedom will not only keep up an automatic equilibrium

of growth but will, also, prevent the enslavement of the individual.

At the present stage of mental and moral progress a few men cannot with safety be intrusted with great power over many men either in the form of a monarchy or of Socialism. The **name** of an absolutism matters not in the least.

The proper function of a government is to **protect** the freedom of its units, to act in co-operative production, **not to take away** this freedom by helping favorites to monopolize the **opportunities** of its units.

Should I, while acting as your guardian, find that you placed confidence in me, and knew but little of what you possessed, I could, were I infamous enough to do so, steal your fortune and make a great show of doling out to you by means of a job or by charity a meagre subsistence, and I could secure and continue to hold your gratitude as long as I could keep you from learning the truth.

Until such time as the individual is sufficiently well informed to see that this is a precise parallel of conservative party methods of operation in all lands, he is not morally

entitled to the use of the ballot, and he deserves to remain the slave that he now is.

This it is that needs to be understood by all voters. The only protection needed by the many is awakening—is to know that their protection must be found in themselves and consists of enlightenment sufficient to enable them to see how to use themselves and how to gain and to use their natural opportunities without using the power hereby gained to oppress others.

This is now denied by our infamous laws of monopoly. Free competition, Nature's evolutionary provision, has never been in operation since the beginning of organized governments.

The process of human awakening, though rapidly increasing, will yet require a long time of monopolistic insult, deprivation, and suffering before a stage is reached where the ballot will be used intelligently.

For a time after birth we must be cared for by others. Awakening and strengthening are gradual, but prior to a certain age we are unable to don our own clothes.

In the present adult life average awareness, self-control, initiative, persistence, in-

sight, and ability to see ahead are small. Hence, the many opportunities by which we are surrounded must be seen and used by a few men at a pittance of benefit to most men.

And particularly true does the above hold of opportunities to do things in large and important ways.

This being shown by a few at a great expense to the many is a spur used by Nature, and serves to awaken men. For the majority are extremely timid and sluggish, and only by being cheated, flogged, made jealous and to suffer; by being driven, can they come to co-operate or to act either in behalf of others or even of themselves.

Consequently great mergers, like the Standard Oil Company, great railroad systems, labor and trades unions, with all their abuses, may after all, have a greater use than we yet realize. The development of unused opportunities cannot be wrong, but the abuse of the power which this development gives does seem to be wrong. This fight between employer and employe is a fight of ignorance, for there is a field, when found, of mutual understanding, mutual interest and harmonious action.

However, the part which abuse of power plays in awakening the majority of men to action through suffering should not be overlooked. Were great fortunes never used oppressively, were men not driven against each other in battle array, would they not miss a part of their needed awakening—would they **ever** awaken?

The present poverty-stricken condition of many is a fact due to a poverty of mind which blinds them to their heritage of opportunity, a heritage which they can never be made to see and to use without being kicked.

So long as men fail to understand political economy and contiguous sciences they can never see how by legislative chicanery they are deprived of their rights and their wages, and they will never take to the educational way of gaining this information without being kicked there.

Till their eyes are opened by voluntary education they will fail also to see that through this same usurpation their labor saving machinery is owned and kept idle, that the same usurpation entails compulsory idleness, small wages for the time of labor, and holds beyond their reach by high prices,

the comparatively small amount which this monopoly allows to be produced, they will fail, also, to see how, through this same usurpation, rents are made high, money kept from circulation, and the products of industry held from the consumer.

THE BALLOT CONTROLLED BY FALSE EDUCATION

IN going thoughtfully back to those who control the wealth of a country by owning the valuable rent producing land (and consequently the machinery of wealth production) we find that education also is under the same control.

The rising generation, therefore, is taught—particularly, in political economy—the falsehoods that the wealth holders in their own interests would have it taught.

Not only are our schools under the spell of monopoly control, but so, also, largely, is the press as well as the lecture platform and the pulpit. Why is it that so few men are able to discuss either religion or economics without anger? Evidently, it is for two reasons; first, they know nothing about either; second, and chiefly in both cases al-

most the entire world is educated under the hypnotic spell of selfish interests. In evidence hereof—of a psychologized condition—is this touchiness of ignorance, this quick resentment of opposition, this easily provoked anger and revenge.

Wealth holders can arrive at an understanding. Why cannot the many? They **do not know enough** and their feelings are tribal, they cannot control their temper, consequently, they are always **quarreling** among themselves. When not quarreling, they can be easily made to quarrel by those who wish to divide and use them.

We have yet to learn as religionists have learned, the hypnotic power of an idea constantly and emphatically repeated. Nor, need that which is repeated be true in order to be believed. From this spell, when once imposed, the only liberator is a gain of intelligence that gives the ability to reason. All are familiar with the fact that few can discuss matters of religion without anger, but few see that it is because of the hypnotically imposed lessons of dogma.

Children are so educated that on becoming men they will forge the chains of their own

serfdom with the ballot. This conspiracy operating in both public and most private schools against true education and progress is realized by comparatively few—for most teachers are either under or compelled to act under the same spell.

Thus it is that children are denied the most essential part of their education, they are refused that information to which every child has a right as inalienable as to that of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In fact, without this information true liberty, life and happiness are impossible. Existing conditions of increasing forms of warfare under which no person is truly happy conclusively show this. This unhappiness is natures effort to arrest attention and correct errors of conduct.

To the wilfully wrong in education is largely due the fact that in all lands men have more confidence in conservative than in liberal parties, that conservative parties are so fully trusted that they are given more time to become corrupt through the appropriation of natural opportunities. It is due to their false education that the great body of men look upon their party as a guardian rather than

as a servant, and become party prejudiced underlings. Thus at their own cheap estimate of themselves they are taken with flattery and used by political party exploiters.

This educational and campaign manageableness of the majority explains in part why monopolists look upon themselves as men having a natural fitness to be the guardians of this majority—why monopolists believe the conservative party to be their legitimate instrument of use to serve this end—why they have lost sight of the circumstances which have made them—why they believe, individually and collectively, that they are the innately superior—why they have developed a feeling of proprietorship in government,—and why they so far resent all liberating social movements as to consider them the intrusions of impudence.

THE CORRECTIVE PROCESS

NATURE has this attitude of mind in process of correction. Dominated men must gradually awaken to their own possibilities; and all men must awaken to the fact that human life is slowly moving competitively in the direction of a greater intel-

ligence, of individual freedom, of personal consent, of democracy and morality; and, also, that contemporaneously and consequently, it is leaving behind its opposite: Monopoly, monarchy, plutocracy, aristocracy, paternalism, prohibition, coercion, tyranny, espionage, jealousy, suspicion, injustice. This passing will be hastened in proportion to the rate of speed with which intelligence is gained.

There is a growing strength of feeling that the tyranny of dominant political parties and religions, through their arbitrary rules of belief, have been allowed to remain in operation altogether too long; that the doom of these systems should, in the interest of human happiness, have been long since pronounced by common consent. This feeling is hastening their passing.

The meaning and use of this great evolving scheme of life (but little of which we have learned) is ever before us. This much, however, has become evident: Nature always kills that which she is no longer able to improve with experience, and she uses the pulverized material of her dead bodies to build progressive forms. Because the rat persists in its conservative ways and cannot learn to

live among men without **stealing** and in other ways interfering with human rights, it is doomed to final extinction. But for many reasons it has some time yet to stay; it is helping us just now to construct ever better buildings—it will remain as long as useful—but so is it with all stand-pat tyranny.

All these advantages, these efforts of men to gain something for nothing, and hold it to attain prosperity at the expense of others, to gain legal power over their fellows, are very grave mistakes—rat proclivities with which they in time must, through the enemies thus aroused, work their own destruction and pass away. For, they are advantages that give rise in the minds of those who secure them, in the minds of men and bodies of men a very provoking over-estimate of themselves.

The bully, the tyrant, the plutocrat, and the monarch are thus all accounted for—and in its final analysis the product of legal robbery is usually a half educated tyrant, serving as an awakening instrumentality during a passing phase of life; and while doing so, acting, also, as his own destroyer by provoking an opposition sufficiently strong to serve the purpose.

Usurpation creates in the mind of the usurper a false ideal—a feeling that “might is right.” Being blind to the cause of the advantages he enjoys, blind to the way they were obtained, perhaps, **he**, nevertheless, believes himself hereby appointed to be the natural leader and director of the affairs of other men. So the usurper becomes in his feelings a plutocrat and has time to think up mischief.

In various ways men gain power over other men. To have gained the intelligence and the moral feeling to use any form of power over others without abuse is to have reached a stage in the growth of character that marks the highest type of man yet evolved.

The number of this type is, of course, increasing. But the sort of triumph that still pleases most men is primitive; it is the triumph that humiliates others, neighbors, competitors; triumphs over religious and political rivals, triumphs that stir up envy, jealousy and hatred. This, rather than the triumph of a discovery, an invention, an explanation, a conciliation, a creation, or a gain of knowledge—**constructive triumphs**

that add to general welfare and human happiness.

Though the inventor, the scientist and the educator belong to a vastly higher type than either the warrior or the politician, the feelings of men are not yet evolved to a realization of this fact—most men and women like brass buttons and tumult.

The motive power behind most political and all military conduct, though a dark-age feeling, a species of insanity, has many admirers by affinity, and by its spread as an epidemic delusion.

In the use of great wealth, comparatively few are yet inspired by high motives, though increase of intelligence brings with it a corresponding improvement of use.

It can not be successfully denied that at present the bulk of the wealth of the land is held by men, **prominent** in, or **leaders** of the conservative party. There is among them a comradeship, an affinity tie of mutual interest in the way of appropriation—but wrong use and the evils hereby entailed do not come so much from evil **intent** as because they do not **realize** the wrong of what they do.

But their possessions carry with them a

great power in the influence of glamour over the simple minds of the dispossessed.

Consequently, controlling as they do that which will insure their succession to control, whenever their flagrant abuse of trust has driven their party from office, they are not at all alarmed as to its return to power—they **know** it can be returned, and **how**.

For they know that the saying: “Distance lends enchantment to the view” is a brief statement of a truth having a very wide application in the affairs of unthinking men and women. That is, they have learned that **distance**, money, desirable occupation, fine garments, showy surroundings, good reputation, theatrical attire, gaudy colors, artistic gesture, emotional speech, music, fine manners, assumed dignity, high prices, lend a stage effect, give a romantic glamor of illusion that tends to emotionally subdue the simple or average mind.

They also know that **distance**, either in time or space, **lends enchantment**, that green fields, when viewed from afar, have enchanting tints and appear to be smooth, that dead men and men in distant cities seem wiser than the living or than those who are close

at hand and they have learned to use all this glamour with practical effect, without realizing all the entailed evils of such use.

Why then do we still wonder at men when by means of this illusion humbug they have secured important political place and abundance of means with which to purchase the suffrage of weak and needy men, if they, when on finding themselves favored by all the laws of the land, become possessed by the illusion that they are the superior ones of the earth? They are not only tremendously flattered by others, but also by themselves, and they are allowed no time to realize their mistaken attitude and immoral position among men.

Ground rent collectors, though seldom students, understand the art of getting and holding. The second generation of such collectors belong, as a rule, to the sporting or semi-sporting order, and their spare time is monopolized in such manner by flatterers that they do not and cannot estimate themselves at their true value—nor do they learn much. They are often social perversions, watered stock; and through lack of competitive correction they soon become a menace.

The glamour of life can be corrected in great degree by intelligence. A lack of intelligence explains conditions as we find them. Men are dominated by the stage illusions of life because they know too little to understand what exists behind the scenes.

Enough voters with no measure or with a false measure of values conduct and of many other matters of life, hold the balance of power and stand ready with their ballots to serve for small consideration almost any selfish, predatory, wholesale scheme of legal, monopolistic thieving or graft which the "bosses" whom they serve may select.

Lack of information makes the purchase price of many men cheap, and keeps the products of human effort and the medium of exchange and distribution—money—in the control of a few ambitious and unscrupulous hands. With this leverage, in the form of a system, these men can, in order to serve their personal selfishness and their party ends, make times either good or bad. And, if, when out of office they wish to return to power, they can proceed with a campaign of "squeeze" consisting of low wages, idleness

and high prices to frighten the borderland rabble back to the conservative camp.

This is a matter well known to the more intelligent of both parties, and it explains why progressive parties are feared by the masses. The latter, during liberal administrations, have experienced stringency, they have felt "hard times," they have seen thousands lose their homes through mortgage foreclosures, they have seen idle men and needy families increase in great numbers, they have seen business go down and rents stay up with immediate consequences in an epidemic of failure and suicide. They have witnessed all these and many other effects accompanying liberal administrations, but without understanding.

Having but little enlightenment, being without the ability to manage more than one idea with a single effort, the masses fail to see the "why," the cause of the din by which they are deafened, the dust by which they are blinded, of the effects in which they are submerged and by which they are made to suffer. Such men never look behind them for causes.

HENCE, the liberal party comes into power only when the conservative or absorptive party constituency has appropriated about everything of value in sight, at a time when the most obtuse can **see** and the majority can **feel** the tremendous need for a political housecleaning.

The system in all lands of holding the sources of wealth production and distribution are such that it makes of the wealthy conservative party constituency, a class of absorptives.

How during conservative administrations business is made brisk has been shown above, but it is a time of dissipation, prices of all sorts keep advancing, and particularly the price of **land**, which determines the rise in price of everything else. Rents are raised to pay interest on imaginary land values, consequently everything else must be raised in price to pay rents. In this way the purchasing power gradually passes from the great body of consumers into the hands of the rent collecting class and is banked, there to remain. Thus, one side becomes depleted and the other congested.

When, therefore, there is but little purchasing power left in the hands of the majority of consumers, business men find a gradually congesting market and begin looking to a change of administration for relief. When the change is made, however, the collapse attributed to the liberal party administration is inevitable—the conditions are all prepared.

The country, when taken over by the party having liberal tendencies is always ready to pass into a state of business stagnation, or into a sickness similar to that of chronic dyspepsia, through impeded circulation and defective metabolism, a sickness so evidently brought on by a system that passes the purchasing power from the hands of the producing and consuming class to the hands of the absorptives (there to remain) as to admit of no mistake in assigning the cause.

When the above is taken into consideration (and almost every voter has in mind the proof of its truthfulness) what can be looked for during one short term of liberating administration?

For most recoveries from illness require cessation from work, time for treatment and convalescing. No doubt, then, you can

imagine how difficult must be the recovery of a patient who, while working, takes treatment from two doctors—one trying to cure him and the other trying to prevent cure.

This, however, parallels very closely the difficulty with which a liberal political party in its administration is obliged to contend. The factors of production, land, labor, and capital, as well as the lines of distribution, being largely under the control of members of the conservative party, they are but little disturbed when their party is ousted from office. For, assisted by the fears and "know-little" of voters, they can at once begin their campaign of return by making men still further idle and hungry. This is an argument that never fails to bring back into conservative lines men who think as their stomachs feel.

The majority of those who in their desperation vote to return government control to progressive hands fail to see that they are turning over to this party a commonwealth whose political state of health corresponds very closely to that of an invalid with impeded circulation, with starved tissues, with drugged and disordered functions.

Consequently, if in liberating hands time is taken to cure and to convalesce, if prosperity slows down (as it must) instead of suddenly reappearing, resentment is shown by returning at the next election the conservatives to power. The well-known procedure of this party on return to office is to begin a sudden show of prosperity, is to begin to please the simple, trinket-loving minds with "good times" chocolate drops that consist of the nimble penny in exchange for their big slow dollars.

They desire another chance to mortgage and to gamble.

Reform under such a condition of the majority mind is very slow and difficult. A fairly honest foundation is no more than well laid by a liberating rule when it is torn up, cast aside, and one less honest is put in its place. In rationality of reform procedure the process here employed is about equal to the regrafting of an orchard every four years.

Reform administrations are kicked out before they have had time to prepare and to put into operation more than a fraction of the needed changes. Nobody, therefore, ever realizes how much these changes, were they

given time in which to work, would do to improve matters.

When measured by the possibilities offered by educational opportunity, general intelligence is far from high in this, or in any other country.

Voters, therefore, are wholly unable to understand the tremendous difficulties with which a liberating administration must contend, the great amount of conservative rubbish that must first be cleared away, the abuses that must be stopped and corrected, and particularly the stupendous reform-opposing forces armed with special-privileged wealth that must be met and defeated before the prosperity machinery of the country can be set up and put in operation, before it can accomplish all of the little that a political party **can** do to improve social and economic conditions. For, there is a cause of social ills that lies much more deeply imbedded than the one of political parties. It is in the dishonesty and injustice of the individual, in the monopoly greed that inevitably follows in the wake of his ignorance. Ignorance may be considered the most fundamental cause with which it is necessary to deal.

Political parties could, however, turn their faces toward the light if their members knew enough to be honest.

This party alternation, in which there is much change with but little improvement is due to the fact that the bulk of voting is a combination of feeling and of guess-work.

Given a twenty per cent rise in general intelligence in which in particular is included a sound knowledge of political economy, a greater amount of social reform could be accomplished in eight years than is now gained in fifty, and, with less trouble.

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